
A
LETTER
FROM A
GENTLEMAN
AT THE
Court of *St. Germain's*,
To one of his
Friends in *England*.

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CONTAINING
A MEMORIAL about Methods
for setting the Pretender on the
Throne of Great Britain.

James Edward Francis

Found at DOWAY, after the Taking of that Town.

Translated from the French Copy,
Printed at COLOGNE by Peter Marteau.

L O N D O N,
Printed in the Year 1710.

A
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FROM A

GENTLEMAN

AT THE

COURT OF ST. GEORGE'S

TO ONE OF HIS

Friends in England;

CONCERNING

A MEMORIAL ABOUT METHODS

FOR IMPROVING THE SITUATION OF TWO

THINGS OF GREAT IMPORTANCE

IN THE TOWN OF BOSTON, IN THE YEAR 1770.

Transcribed from the French Copy,
by the Rev. Mr. John Mather.

LONDON

Printed in the Year 1770.

ADVERTISEMENT
FROM THE
PUBLISHER,
At COLOGNE.

THE Piece which I give here to the Publick, is so considerable in it self, that you will certainly be willing to know how it fell into my hands. I owe it to an Officer, one of my Friends, who has a considerable Post in the Confederate Army. He sent it me from Doway, and inform'd me at the same time, that perceiving a sort of a Valise or Portmanteau in his Chamber, which he came to after the Siege, he desir'd his Landlord to remove it; and ask'd him smiling, if his Strong Box were not in it.

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His Landlord reply'd, that it did not belong to him, but to a Stranger who came from **Paris**, and call'd himself an Irishman : He hir'd that Chamber, and having fal'n sick, died there of a languishing Distemper ; and his Landlord had kept that Valise ever since, till some body came to demand it. Upon this the Officer thought the Right of Conquest, and some other Circumstances which his Landlord told him, gave him a Title to make use of it. Accordingly he open'd it ; and finding, among other things, several Papers in English and French, he immediately communicated them to his Superiors ; and looking upon this Memorial as a remarkable Piece, he obtain'd leave to take a Copy, on condition that he should leave out the proper Names, and certain Passages, according to Direction.

This is all that my Friend informs me. The Concern I have for the English Nation, tho a Stranger, and my Affection to the Protestant Religion, have induc'd me to publish this Letter, that those to whom it belongs may make such use of it as they shall think fit.

The publick News make frequent mention of the different Parties in England: We see that they mutually charge one another with pernicious Designs. Many People alledg that there's no foundation for those reciprocal Invektives, and that the Heads of the Parties make use of 'em only to impose on the People, and to possess themselves of the most gainful Employments. We can't doubt however that there are conceal'd Jacobites in that Kingdom, who make use of those Divisions to advance the Interest of the pretended Prince of Wales: Here you have all the Springs they make use of; and without penetrating into the Hearts of each Party we may boldly conclude, that those who follow the Instructions of the Court of St. Germans are not the best affected to the Religion and Liberty of their Country; not that I wou'd suggest, that all those who seem to follow them are in the design to bring in the Pretender: God forbid! I believe on the contrary, that many of those People do not see the Consequences of what they are put upon, and that they wou'd act quite otherwise than they do, were they perswaded that those Measures are design'd to overturn their Laws and Religion.

gion. I shou'd think my self very happy if the Publication of this Piece may open the Eyes of that sort of People, and make them return to their Duty : Be that how it will, I hope all good Englishmen will take this Present in good part ; for since I have nothing either to fear or to hope from them, I am induc'd to this only by my own Inclinations, and the Passion I have to contribute any thing that lies in my power to the Happiness of that Illustrious Nati^{on}.

A LETTER from a Gentleman of the Court of St. Germans, to one of his Friends in England : Containing a MEMORIAL about the Methods to be us'd for setting the Pretender on the Throne of Great Britain. Found at Douay after the taking of that Town.

St. Germans, Jan. 12. 1710.

S I R,

TH O for some time I have not had the Honour of a Letter from you, yet I have been inform'd by other Hands of all that has pass'd in *England* with relation to our Affairs. It must be own'd that our Friends never gave us stronger Proofs of their Zeal and Affection than at present ; and provided they don't slacken, we have reason to hope for every thing from the happy Disposition of the soundest part of the Church of *England* towards restoring their Lawful Prince. I congratulate you upon it with all my heart by this Letter in the beginning of the New Year, till I can have an opportunity to do it by word of mouth, which perhaps may be sooner than you imagine. We ought to despair of nothing in this world. Who would not have thought, even less than a year ago, that we should have been at present in a melancholy and disgraceful Exile either in *Switzerland* or *Italy*? The most Christian King, our Illustrious and Generous Protector, was at one and the same time overwhelm'd with the two Plagues of War and Famine. His Finances were in the utmost disorder, and Want of Provisions did no less afflict his Army

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than the rest of his Kingdom. That Prince, who has a true Tenderness for his Subjects, was sensibly touch'd with their Misery; and preferring their Happiness to his own, he sent his Plenipotentiaries to *Holland* to endeavour a Peace.

I need not tell you, Sir, how much the Allies were elevated with this Step, what Advantage they propos'd to themselves from the Calamities of *France*, and what hard and insulting Preliminaries they insisted upon.

We were speedily inform'd of the Article that related to the King of *England*; which alarm'd us so much the more, because we saw the Calamities of *France* increasing every day. Their Majesties hasten'd to *Versailles* in order to ward off that Blow. But the most Christian King pray'd them to consider his Condition, and exhorted them to arm themselves with Resolution and Patience; assuring them at the same time, that he would never abandon them, and that to what place soever the Necessity of the Times might oblige them to retire, he would use all his endeavours to restore them to their Dominions. You may easily judg, Sir, that this Answer, tho very favourable and obliging, did not ease our Minds. Our Sorrow increas'd every day, till we understood with Transports of Joy that his most Christian Majesty had refus'd to sign the Preliminaries. That Prince, who is a true Pattern of Activity and Wisdom, had beforehand sent Vessels to seek for Corn in all parts of the world; and he took care to restore his Finances, by ordering new Species to be coin'd, and by taking such other Methods as are not unknown to you.

'Tis true, our Joy was not long-liv'd. *France* lost two Towns and one Battel before the End of the Year; and since we had no reason to hope that she could retrieve so many Losses, and be able to support us by the Force of her Arms, but on the contrary

contrary had ground to believe that she would do all that was possible to procure a Peace, and was resolv'd to go into it if any thing considerable were allow'd to the King of *Spain*, we grew more melancholy and desponding than ever. The reason was, because we presum'd too much on our own Understanding, and did not conceive that Providence could make use of any other Methods for restoring our Prince, than those which we our selves had propos'd.

We have now quite other thoughts, and are persuaded that this great Blow must be struck by *England* her self; nor are we able to conceive how we came formerly to be so much blinded as to that matter. That you may the better understand me, I must pray you to consider that tho our Countrymen do at first view appear to be fierce, untractable, and savage; yet there are two very different ways to soften and tame them. The first is, to treat them with a high Hand and Authority, and to strike boldly home. This stuns the *English* at first; and being naturally fearful, their Courage abates, and they easily submit, and comply. The Reign of the late King gives us several Instances of it: 'Tis certain, that if the Prince of *Orange* had not cross'd the Sea, to inspire the Malecontents with Courage, K. *James II.* might easily have accomplish'd all that he desir'd. The second way to become Masters of the *English*, is to make use of Mildness, Insinuations, and Arguments from Interest and Self-love, *i. e.* to persuade them by plausible Reasons, to gain them by Submissions and Commendations, to satisfy their Avarice, and flatter their Ambition; to serve our selves dextrously of one Party to destroy another, to foment the Hatred and Animosities that are betwixt them, and to furnish them with Methods to avenge themselves on one another by turns, or at least to free both of 'em from their Restraints. This Method

thod is no less sure than the other ; and considering the present Disposition of their Minds, I take it to be the only Method that's practicable.

For to make use of Power or Force, we must be actually possess'd of them, or at least cloth'd with sufficient Authority to impose them. But you know we have no Force within the Kingdom, and we can't promise our selves any from abroad. But tho we could rely on foreign Assistance, I know not whether we should venture to make use of it, till we be well assur'd of the greatest part of the Nation ; since otherwise that would tend to a Civil War, the Consequences of which must certainly be fatal. For in the first place, if his Majesty should endeavour to restore himself by a foreign Power, he would by that means lose a great part of his Friends. Many People, especially those who possess Church-Lands, would be afraid that the King having once subdu'd his Rebellious Subjects, would improve his Victory, and in that case order all things according to his own Will and Pleasure. There are others who carry their Speculations still further, and are persuaded that if *France* have once the Power of imposing a King upon them, she will govern him afterwards as she pleases ; and by obliging him to follow her Directions, will certainly impoverish *England*, and enrich her self with our Spoils ; that's to say, by our Commerce, which she will by degrees reduce to nothing.

Those People continually remember the Easiness of K. *Charles II.* who, notwithstanding all the Mortifications he receiv'd from *France*, went so far into her Interest, that he taught her King to build Ships, and put him in a condition to have Merchant-Fleets, which have enlarg'd her Commerce in all parts to the prejudice of ours, and to equip Navies that have made *England* tremble.

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There's another thing to be consider'd, which makes this Affair still more nice. The Revolution has transfer'd the Crown from the Family of *Great Britain* to the Familys of *Hanover* and *Brandenburg*; so that we are not to doubt but they will do their utmost to hinder our Prince from coming to the Throne. Besides, *Holland* will always be afraid that a King of *England* in Friendship with *France* will favour the Projects of the most Christian King, and enter into a League with him to destroy their Republick. Moreover, the *Dutch* have made strict Alliances with the Princes of *Hanover* and *Brandenburg*; and we may be sure they have not forgot to make the Succession of *England* one of the Articles. So that there are three Powers ready to rush in upon our Country with a formidable Army, as soon as ever they hear that his Majesty is gone to take possession of the Throne. You can't but know, Sir, that our Enemies in the Kingdom would join them; and that by consequence, unless we have destroy'd them before-hand, or be sure of most part of the Nation, 'twill not be possible for us to resist them. May God preserve us from such a Desolation, as so bloody a War would bring upon us! By this you may see, that we must think no more of the King's being restor'd by a foreign Power: We must carefully abandon all those Ideas, or at least make use of 'em with a great deal of Art, lest we provoke those to turn our Enemies who are now well-affected to our Cause.

But you and your Friends, Sir, have no need of any such Advice, since the Measures you have taken, and have already been so successful in, are quite different from them. Their Majesties are very well inform'd of it, and have order'd me to acquaint you with their Satisfaction in it, and to return you their Thanks for it.

In the mean time, as in occasions of this nature, there are certain Maxims which 'tis good to have
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always in readiness, and necessary to be practis'd as the juncture will allow it, I am order'd to impart our Reflections to you, that you may make use of 'em from time to time as the Case requires. The Pleasure with which you have formerly receiv'd Memorials of this nature, puts us in hope that you will entertain this with the like regard.

Since the Prince of *Orange*, as I have already observ'd, was the great Cause of all our Misfortunes; and that the Revolution was brought about by I know not what Affection the infatuated People had for him, and which makes them still adhere to it, 'twill always be a great Point gain'd to lessen their Esteem of him, and to blacken his Memory as much as possible. 'Twill be very useful to suggest that nothing but his Ambition, and Desire of a Crown, induc'd him to invade *England*; nor must you forget to insinuate that the thing he had chiefly in view was to augment the Power of the *Dutch* our mortal Enemies, and to raise them on the Ruins of our Country. In effect, Sir, this ambitious Prince perceiving the strict Alliance betwixt *James II.* and *Lewis XIV.* whom he always hated extreamly, was sensible that if that Union lasted, 'twas in the power of *France* to humble the *Dutch* when she pleas'd, and to reduce them to such a Condition as to make no more a figure in *Europe* by their Commerce or their Arms; and that by this means he himself shou'd be reduc'd to a very low State. To ward off this Blow, he knew there was nothing else to be done but to invade *England*, where he did not want his Creatures: The *Dutch*, to whom he imparted his Fears, came immediately into his Measures, and thought the matter of such importance, that they lent him all their Forces, and left their own Country naked to go where they thought there was most occasion for them, in order to bring so potent a Nation as ours into their own Interest. These things,

things, Sir, must be well explain'd; and it ought to be insisted upon, that Religion and Liberty were only false Pretexs which the Prince of *Orange* made use of to cover his ambitious Designs. This Article is so much the more essential, because if we can once make the Revolution odious and black, all that is built upon it will fall of course; and we cannot begin better than by giving the People bad Impressions of him who was the Author of it.

You must not forget those who were the chief Instruments of it in *England*, and are still its most violent Patrons. But what is most perplexing in this Affair is, that most of 'em are of the Church of *England*, at least as to Profession; which gains them admittance into Parliament, and the chief Posts of the State. But if you consider what I said, 'twill not be difficult to represent them as Republicans, Enemies to Royal Authority and Monarchy, Traitors to their Country, and Men of no Religion; who only profess to be of the Church of *England* for the sake of their Interest, but are secretly conspiring her ruin. When once you can possess the People with these Maxims, the Restoration of our Prince is not far off; for those Low Churchmen are almost the only and chief obstacle in our way at present. It must be own'd however, that their Strength does not lie wholly in their own Party, for they are supported by the Nonconformists whom they care for and maintain on all occasions; and as they have procur'd them a Toleration, and endeavour'd to annul or weaken those Laws which still restrain the Sectaries, they maintain and support the Low Church by way of Requital.

But let not that discourage you, it may not be so difficult as you imagin to break that Confederacy. Tho the Nonconformists can't be ignorant that the High-Churchmen do not love them, yet they

they are not so untractable as they seem to be: Caresses and Civilities well manag'd easily gain them; and they are so much the more sensible of 'em, because the High-Churchmen commonly treat them with Haughtiness and Contempt, and we have seen them oftner than once vote at Elections for such Persons to be Members of Parliament as won'd willingly have voted their Extermination in the House; therefore 'tis not impossible to gain them, and break them off from their great Patrons. Bnt tho' this Method shou'd not succeed, there are others remaining which may be more efficacious to destroy those Low-Churchmen, particularly one which is worth all the rest, and that is, Sir, to bring the Clergy into your Interest, and get them intirely devoted to you. You are not ignorant of the Power they have over the Minds of the People, who are naturally superstitious; and you know as well as I, that, the Gown excepted, the Clergy are altogether like other Men: Nay 'twou'd seem that they are more addicted to Revenge, Ambition and Avarice than Laymen. I speak with the more freedom of your Clergy, because you know, Sir, 'twas they, who by their pretended Maxims of Non-Resistance and Absolute Submission, and by their fair Protestations of Loyalty and inviolable Affection, threw the late King *James* into a fatal and pernicious Security. As long as that Prince treated the Nonconformists according to the Rigor of the Law, the Clergy heap'd their Eulogiums and Blessings upon him; but as soon as he allow'd them to have their Meetings, and stop'd the Course of the Penal Laws, and when he desir'd that two or three Persons might be admitted on his Recommendation into the Universities, the Clergy immediately seiz'd with fury, cry'd out that all was lost: then all their Maxims of Passive Obedience and Absolute Submission to the Will of their Princes, which they had

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so much preach'd up vanish'd at once. They aim at our Patrimony, said the Clergy among themselves, therefore we are no more oblig'd by any Duty or Oath; let's sound the Alarm thro' all the Kingdom, let's cry out that all's lost, and go over to the Prince of *Orange*, who will do us justice, and not suffer one farthing of our Revenue to be touch'd. They were not wanting to cover those false Pretexes with a Cloak of Religion and Liberty; all the Discourse was then Popery and Tyranny; the Bishops order'd it so as to be put in the Tower, after they had brav'd the King in his own Palace. What was singular in this matter was, that the same Persons who had always favour'd the Catholics, did then rail against them with inconceivable fury; as if a handful of People, who had always been their Friends, and had so frequently assisted them against the Nonconformists, cou'd have been capable of doing them any hurt. In short, the Church of *England* Clergy did so much animate the People, and possess them with such a fury, that their lawful Prince, and all that was dear to him, not finding themselves safe in their own Palace, nor among their own Domesticks, cou'd not think themselves secure by any other Method than a shameful and precipitate flight.

You may judge by this, Sir, of the Power of your Ministers, and of the advantage we may make of that Order of Men, if willing to expiate the Crime they have committed; they declare themselves boldly for us, and do as much in our favour as they formerly did to destroy us. 'Twill be so much the more easy to gain them, that they have been a long time sensible they were only made Tools of at the Revolution; and no doubt most of 'em have repented of the steps which they then took. In effect, the Nonconformists, whom

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they dread much more than the Catholics, and whom the late King design'd only to exempt for a time from the Severities of the Law, have obtain'd an Act of Parliament, which establishes their Sects for ever, and by consequence sets them on an equal foot with the Church of *England*. Their Number is by this means extraordinarily increas'd; and as their Preachers are more regular in their Conversation than your Clergy, they easily impose upon the People, and make Profelytes every day. Your Ministers are not ignorant of this, but make bitter Complaints of it: You must therefore keep up their Resentments, increase their Jealousy, promise to restore them to their antient Lustre, and to put them in a condition to reduce their Enemies.

You must then maintain with them, that the Church of *England* is in imminent Danger, and on the brink of Ruin, not only from the Non-Conformists, as I just now hinted, but from the Low-Churchmen and Latitudinarians. You must add, that the latter are so much the more dangerous, that being got into the Church, and professing a great Zeal for the Protestant Religion, they easily insinuate themselves, and have a great influence among the common People. But above all, you must insist upon this, that the Low-Churchmen do all they can to keep the Clergy in Servitude, and to bring them lower than they are at present. 'Twould be proper also dexterously to insinuate, that the House of *Hanover* being bred up in Principles, which come very near those of the Presbyterians, or rather, which at bottom are the same; since part of the *Lutherans* have no Bishops, and where they have any, they are only the Shadows of Bishops, who have no regard to a successive and uninterrupted Ordination, upon which your Clergy value themselves

so much : You must, I say, insinuate that Princes educated in that manner may very probably make Alterations in the Church of *England*, either by establishing Presbytery, or endeavouring a Comprehension, which will be no less pernicious. You must not fail to improve this Thought.

In short, as 'tis lawful in so just a Cause to make use of all Advantages, 'twill be proper to insist on the Danger of the Church from the Books of Controversy which the Non-Conformists write against the Church of *England*. This must be represented as an unheard of piece of Insolence and Boldness, which is not only contrary to the Act of Toleration, wherein no such thing is specify'd ; but directly tends to the Ruin of the Church, by perverting her Members, and filling her with Trouble and Confusion. You may also charge the whole Body of the Non-Conformists and Latitudinarians with certain Pieces that some Atheists, Deists, or Socinians have publish'd in *England* since the Revolution. You must aggravate the number of 'em, and declare boldly that unless the Authors and Favourers of those abominable Libels be destroy'd, nothing less is to be expected than the Judgments of God upon the whole Nation, and that the Church should be intirely ruin'd. There's nothing which strikes, or animates the People more than such Suggestions.

And as we can't make those Persons too odious whom we resolve to destroy, you must draw the Dissenters in such colours as are most like to produce that Effect ; and in this you will find the Clergy naturally dispos'd to second you. You will always find them ready to make use of the harshest Expressions, and the most choaking Epithets that can be thought on. Represent them then as furious Schismatics, who have rent the Bowels of the Church ; as senseless and ridiculous

Fanaticks, who persist in their Error out of mere Obstinacy, to flatter the Corruption of their Mind, and to gratify their criminal Passions: That they have neither Vertue nor Honour, which are Qualities absolutely incompatible with Schism and Heresy: That 'tis nothing but worldly Interest and unsupportable Presumption that keeps them from conforming to the Church: That they are so far from being satisfy'd with the Advantages they enjoy, that they aspire to greater things, and to be Masters of all at last: That they do not content themselves to plot against the Church and contrive her ruin, but their Design is also laid against the Monarchy, to which they have always been Enemies; and that they wait only a favourable opportunity to overturn the Government, and to set up a Republick. On this occasion you must call to mind what they did in the Reign of *Charles I.* and represent them as ready to act the same part over again.

There's still another way to attack them, which comes nothing short of this, and may be more effectual. As all their Power is founded on the mischievous Act of Toleration, you must endeavour to undermine it insensibly, for I do not believe that we can easily get it repeal'd by another Act; therefore you must endeavour to clog the Toleration-Act with so many Restrictions and Limitations, as you may do with it what you please. I mean that you must represent it as a Provisional Act, and not as a Fundamental Law of the State: You must alledg that 'twas in a manner extorted by the Confusion of the Times, and necessity of Affairs: That the Prince of *Orange* having made himself Master of *England*, and being supported by *Holland*, and almost all the rest of *Europe*, the Nation was not in a Condition to oppose an Act form'd by a Parliament that was intirely devoted to

to him. It may be added, that this Act is rather positive than negative; that it does not establish Nonconformity, but only exempt Dissenters from the Fines and Penalties the Laws had decreed against them: That 'tis merely an Act of Indulgence and Respite, which only suspends the Laws, and stops the Course of 'em: In short, that this Act relates only to Consciences that are truly tender and scrupulous, *i. e.* such Persons who, after having examin'd both Religions without Bigottry, Passion and Prejudice, are convinc'd that they can't conform to the Church of *England* without wounding their Consciences, *i. e.* without committing a mortal and unpardonable Crime.

Now if once you can bring it about to get the Act explain'd in this manner, you may quickly do with those People what you please. In the first place you will bring them into an odious and ridiculous Contradiction, since they have hitherto always confess'd that the Church of *England* teaches all the Articles necessary to Salvation; and that they have nothing to object against her but some matters of Discipline, and a few Ceremonies of small importance: but then they must be oblig'd to maintain that she entertains Fundamental Errors and Doctrines which can't be embrac'd without mortal sin; so that they must either miserably contradict themselves or speak a new Language. I need not add, that nothing is capable to render them more odious than such a Confession, if they dare be so bold as to make it, or more proper to hasten their destruction; for no body will endure People who alledg that the Church of *England* maintains damnable Doctrines. But this is not all the advantage which will result from such an Explication of the Toleration-Act; for by this means, Sir, you will become Judges of the Consciences of Dissenters: You will
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then have a Power to determine whether those who claim the Protection of that Act have the Qualities which it requires: They are not to be trusted upon their own Word, this is founded on the Nature of all Laws. When a Law grants a Favour to certain Persons on condition that they be so and so qualify'd, 'tis certain that this Favour is not confer'd upon every one that claims it; that must be done Juridically by Magistrates appointed for the Execution of the Laws; 'tis their Part to determine whether the Persons who claim it have the Qualities preferib'd by the Law, and whether they are to enjoy the advantages of it: By this means you may exclude whom you please, and at the same time make the Act of no effect. If the Secular Judges find any difficulty in it, you need only erect an Ecclesiastical Tribunal, which by obliging People to give the Reasons of their Scruples, and by consequence of their Faith, will speedily see whether their Consciences be truly tender, and whether their Scruples be really and effectually such as they can't change their Opinion without incurring eternal damnation. I am of the mind that they will find few Dissenters of that sort; 'tis certain at least, that those will not be accounted such who for the sake of a good Post are willing to communicate according to the Church of *England*. In this Case you will have no occasion to revive the Act against Occasional Communion, which unhappily miscarried by being push'd on with too much Violence; but it may perhaps be dangerous to propose it again. After all, you need not be so much concern'd at the Act of Toleration. The *Huguenots* had one call'd *The Edict of Nantz*, because *Henry IV.* their good Friend, gave it them in that City: Their chief Ministers drew it up according to their own Mind,

Mind, and 'twas much more favourable to them than this is to the Dissenters; yet *Lewis XIV.* found means to weaken that Party by degrees, and in such a manner as gave him afterwards an opportunity to revoke that Edict with all the necessary Formalities. There will be no great difficulty to follow the same Methods as far as they shall be judg'd necessary.

But, in order to gain the Clergy compleatly, and to bring them absolutely into our Interest, you must give them good Assurances that they shall be restor'd to all their former Prerogatives: They have a long time groan'd under the Oppression of the Secular Power; for tho' they be allow'd to meet in Convocation, 'tis nothing but for the sake of Form, for they will not allow them the liberty which they always had to adjourn themselves during the Session, nor to take into consideration the Relaxation of Discipline, and the erroneous Opinions taught every day by Members of their own Body. The Bishops have no Power over the Clergy of their Diocese; and how vicious soever they be, they can neither punish nor deprive them: In order to try them they must be at a vast Charge, and the Cause is at last brought by way of Appeal before the Secular Tribunals, who for most part make void what's done in the Ecclesiastical Courts. 'Tis the same as to Excommunications which the Clergy pronounce against the Laity, they are always absolv'd by the Secular Judges. There are two Inconveniencies which result from this, and tend equally to tarnish the Church of *England*: the one is, that every Minister thinking himself sure of Impunity, gives himself readily up to Debauchery and other Passions, which makes the Clergy contemptible and odious; and the other is,

is, that the Laity having no esteem for their Ministers, treat 'em with Contempt, and mock at their Remonstrances. You may judge what advantage the Presbyterians and other Enemies of your Church make of these things; therefore 'tis a good way to gain the Clergy, to promise them such an Independance as may free them from the Secular Yoke.

But if you think, Sir, that there must be other Motives to bring them intirely to our Devotion; I will propose one which is worth all that can be thought of: That is, Sir, to put 'em in hopes of a Restitution of all the Church-Lands. They certainly wish it with all their hearts, but have no ground to look for it, so long as things continue as they are. Princes have not Power enough to bring their People to it. The late King began this Affair, but in my opinion he was ill advis'd. He set about it too soon; and perhaps this contributed more than any thing else to his being abandon'd by the Nobility, who possess most of those Lands. But if Kings, as matters are now stated, have not that Power, 'tis certain that the Clergy, while kept under and cry'd down, will never have Credit enough to make the Possessors voluntarily quit them. Thus you see they keep a profound Silence on this Head; and that if any of them be so bold as to insinuate or hint at this Restitution, 'tis always with Fear and abundance of Precautions. They had better say nothing of it: 'Tis not yet time. But they need not doubt it, when our Prince comes to the Throne: And this is what ought to oblige the Clergy to hasten his Restoration by all possible means.

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To this End, Sir, you who have so much Credit among them, and all our other Friends ought to exhort them to preach and write continually in favour of Passive Obedience and Non-resistance. Were the People once well persuaded of this Principle and its Consequences, 'twould not be difficult to bring 'em to what you please. Their Majesties have read with a great deal of Pleasure what ——— have writ upon this Subject, have order'd me to thank them, and to assure them that they will remember their good Offices. In short, this Doctrine tends directly to their Restoration: For if Kings hold of God alone, if they are not to give an Account of their Conduct to any other, if the Right to the Crown be founded on Proximity of Blood, so that they succeed to Dominion, as Children do to their Father's Estates; and if, in the last Place, Subjects are never to resist 'em, nor to take Arms against them on any Pretext whatsoever, it clearly and unanswerably follows from thence, that *James III.* is the only Prince, since the Death of the late King, who can, or ought to succeed to the Crown of *Great Britain*; and that all that has been done to the contrary is absolutely null and void. This is a good Plea, Sir, and only wants to be well supported.

There is no Difficulty in it; for it may be asserted, that this Doctrine is as ancient as the World; that the Apostles taught it in a very positive manner; that the Primitive Christians did constantly practise it; that by Consequence 'tis one of the chief Doctrines of Christianity; and that in fine, the most famous Divines of the Church of *England* did always look upon it as a Fundamental Doctrine of their Reformation, and boasted of it as the distinguishing Character of their Church. So much for the positive Part. After this the contrary Opinion must be attack'd, the Absurdity of it discover'd; and the Contradictions in it, and all the frightful

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Consequences of it, such as Rebellion and Anarchy, &c. expos'd.

This being once laid down, there's no Man so weak as not to see what he ought to think of the Revolution, which violated all the Maxims just now mentioned. The Subjects of *James II.* took Arms to favour the Invasion of the Prince of *Orange*; and not content to have forc'd him to retire into *France*, declar'd him to have lost his Right to the Crown, set the Usurper on the Throne, furnish'd him with Money, followed him to *Ireland* in Arms to fight against their lawful Sovereign, and join Parricide to Rebellion and Treachery. Nay, their Fury did not stop at the Person of the King, they attack'd what was dearest to him, disinherited his only Son, transfer'd the Crown to his Daughters by the first Marriage, and after them to the Branch of *Hanover*, and then to that of *Brandenburg*, who are still more remote than the Families of *Savoy*, *Orleance*, and several others.

By this we may judge by what Right and Authority, Queen *ANNE* does now possess the Crown. But we must not touch on that String, till the People's Minds be better dispos'd for't. That Subject is too nice, considering the present posture of Affairs. On the contrary, we must at present seem to maintain Her Title as far as 'tis not inconsistent with the Doctrine of Lineal Succession, and Non-Resistance, which we must never abandon; otherwise all will be lost. But what need we be perplex'd on that Head? We have nothing to do, but to maintain boldly, that the Right of *Q. ANNE* is the same with that of all other Kings; that 'tis Hereditary, and founded on Proximity of Blood. That Language, far from doing us hurt, will establish our Principle, fix it in the Minds of the People, and insensibly prepare the *English* to receive their Prince, who is without Contradiction, the nearest
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and true Heir ; and who alone, since the Death of his Father, has a Right to Claim the Crown by Virtue of those Maxims.

You will say perhaps, that to offer at persuading the People of this, is to impose too plainly upon the Publick ; since every Body knows, that the Act of the Prince of *Orange*, which regulates the Succession of the Crown, is founded only upon the pretended Rights of the People, to whom it expressly ascribes a power to chuse for King, whom they please ; and to despoil them of the Royalty whenever they think good, without the least regard to Proximity of Blood or Birth. You may add, that according to this fine Principle, they put the Princess *Mary*, after the Prince of *Orange*, and would not have the Princess *ANNE*, to Reign till after the Death of the Prince. I say you may propose these, and other Objections to me : But allow me to tell you at the same time, Sir, That you don't well enough know, the Power which the Clergy has over the People, who never examine things, but are easily persuaded of what they please, and eagerly receive all that is told 'em with Authority and Confidence. Their Genius Naturally leads them to that, and they embrace every thing with Fury, when their Passions are mov'd, and at the same time animated with Sentiments of Hatred, Fear, Interest and Revenge. There's no contradiction then so palpable, nor absurdity so gross, which they don't receive with all their Hearts, and will maintain at the Peril of a Thousand Lives if they had them. After this, you may judge what they are capable of doing, when being possess'd with our Doctrine ; they shall see the Prince who alone has those Qualities, which are own'd to be absolutely indispensable for Lawfully possessing the Crown. But you must bring them to this insensibly, and according to the Method which I have just now laid down to you. When once they have got this Prin-

ciple in their Heads, and their Passions are rais'd, our Enemies will find it in vain to make them sensible of their Contradictions; for they will not so much as listen to them, but treat them and their Arguments, with the same Indignity and Contempt. A Banishment of above 20 Years, has given me time enough to reflect upon all those things, and to understand the Nature of Mankind. Besides, I can assure you, the Court here is of that Opinion, and persuaded that such a Turn as this can't fail of being advantageous to them. Don't be afraid then to make use of it.

Nay, I could wish you would go further, since the Minds of the People are still much possess'd in favour of the Revolution; that they will not fail to object it against the *Doctrine of Non-resistance*; and that 'twill be dangerous to call it a *Rebellion*. I believe 'twill be proper to maintain, that it has nothing to do with the Case, and that there was no Resistance made use of at the Revolution. By this means, we shall dismount the Enemies strongest Battery, and make all their Attacks of no use. Don't you object against this advice, Sir, and treat it as a *Chimera*. If you weigh well what I have said of the power of the Clergy, and of the Genius of the People, you must agree, that if your Ministers once maintain this Proposition, the People will receive it speedily as an uncontrovertible Truth; and look upon such as contradict it, to be Enemies to the Church and State. 'Twill be enough to animate your Clergy to defend it, that the other Party reject it with Contempt. But since our People value themselves upon being able at Argument, and great Politicians, we must think of probable Reasons to make the thing as plausible as we can.

It may be advanced at first, that the Revolution being the Work of the Prince of *Orange*, if there were any Resistance in it, it came from him, and not from

from the People of *England*. 'Twas a Foreign Pr. who invaded the Dominions of another, and not Subjects who Revolted against their King; so that this was nothing to the Case of Resistance.

To this may be added, that tho' some *English* join'd the Usurper, they themselves own'd their Fault, and procur'd from the Parliament an Act of Oblivion and Pardon, which exempted them from the Penalties that the Laws ordain'd against Rebels. So true is it, that the Doctrine of Passive-Obedience was always held inviolable. What signifies it, tho' there be Contradictions in what one says, provided People be disposed to receive it? I know not but we may make good use of the P. of *Orange's* Confessions in his Declarations; that he had no Design to conquer *England*, but only against the King's pernicious Countellors; that his End was only to procure the Meeting of a free Parliament, and to deliver the Nation from those who besieg'd his Majesty; that he propos'd nothing else but to furnish an Opportunity for restoring Things on the same Foot they were before, and that the Army he brought with him was not design'd to invade the Kingdom, but only to guard his Person against the Violence and Practises of those who had got the Kings Ear. In short, it may be said, that tho' the Throne was declar'd vacant, and the Pr. of *Orange* plac'd upon it, 'twas only because *James II.* had voluntarily desert-ed *England*; and that having by doing so in a manner abandon'd his Dominions, they thought it better to chuse another King than to throw themselves into a frightful Anarchy, or at least to fall under Tyranny. Don't you believe now, Sir, that those Arguments boldly advanc'd by a Person of Gravity, are more than sufficient to establish the Proposition I laid down to you? Don't fail then to make use of 'em, and assure your self that this Affair is of greater Importance than I can now say to you; you will easily

easily perceive it your self, if you consider the Matter closely.

You see, Sir, that according as you are able to persuade the People of the Truth of those Maxims, and prepare their Minds as I have mentioned, the Difficulties will be removed, and we shall gain as much Ground as the Dissenters and Low-Church lose. In the mean time, you must use all your Efforts to fill the highest and most eminent Posts of the Church with Men of Boldness, and well affected to our Cause. For as I have told you oftner than once, 'tis from them chiefly that we are to expect our Return. But how, will you say, is this thing practicable, since our greatest Enemies are equally in Possession of the Ministry and Parliament? They are headed by able, cunning, vigilant and active Men, who profess a great Dis-interestedness, and a particular Affection for the good of their Country, than which there's nothing more capable to win upon the Minds of Men, and to gain the People.

I confess this is a great Obstacle, and I should look upon it as insuperable on any other occasion; yet, if you make a right use of the means I have propos'd, you must agree that 'tis not so difficult to accomplish as 'twas believ'd at first. When once you have possess'd the People with those Maxims, and that they look upon those People as Enemies to the Church of *England* and Monarchial Government, they will be as much against them as ever they were for them; and this I understand is already begun with good Success. Besides, you are not ignorant that a new Ministry does usually bring on a new Parliament, and that the Parliament has the same Influence on the Ministry. I can't well advise you with which of the two you should begin, for that depends on several particular Circumstances which change from time to time; but you must always be upon the Watch, and improve the happy
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Moment when it comes; but you know too well the Management of a Court, to need my Direction in this Matter. I'll only tell you in general, that you may underhand represent our Enemies to Queen *ANNE* in the most disadvantageous manner that can be; and that as Women are naturally more tender, and of a nicer Temper than Man, you may represent the least Opposition they make to her as a want of respect, Submission and Deference; and thus you may charge the whole Party with the disagreeable Steps that any particular Persons are guilty of. You may at the same time publish to the World, that they treat that Princess without any Respect, oppose her most reasonable Desires, and keep her in a sort of Slavery and Servitude. All this will produce its Effects, and may perhaps result in a new Ministry.

But were there nothing to hope from this, 'tis certain, that if after having animated the People by the Methods I have hinted, you can get the present Parliament dissolv'd, we shall speedily have another fill'd with our best Friends. But as 'twill be difficult to obtain this, so long as our Enemies are in the Ministry, I know not as I told you already, with which of them you should begin; that must be left to you, who are upon the spot, and likewise to improve the Divisions and Discontents that may be among the Chiefs of the Governing Party. Then you must endeavour to gain them by Caresses, by protestations of serving them, and by promising all that can flatter their Ambition or Vanity. As Men are, 'tis not possible but you should catch some with this Bait, and strengthen our Interest, by weakening theirs. 'Tis by this means above all, you must gain the *Scots* Members of Parliament, and bring them to join with us, when any of those Cases offer; the determination of which, seems to be a finishing Stroke: For as the People do not see the secret Spring, but always
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judge of things by the Event, they look upon the Party who gain the Victory as the strongest and most numerous, and afterwards side with them accordingly.

All these Methods are no less proper to procure a New Parliament, than a New Ministry. And 'tis certain, that if either of 'em have a design to retrieve our Affairs, they may find a Thousand ways to serve us, without declaring themselves openly. This may be done in an indirect manner, so as the People can apprehend nothing of it. But among all the different means to be made use of, there's none more short and sure in my Opinion, than to favour *France* in the prosecution of the War, which may be easily done, either by managing the Finances, so as the Funds may fail, and the Credit of the Nation sink, by giving inconsiderable Subsidies, or assigning them on uncertain Funds, that may be capable of many Deficiencies. If this were well executed, I wou'd revoke what I said in the beginning of this Letter, that we are not to reckon upon any Foreign Assistance: For 'tis certain, that as soon as the *Dutch* perceive that our Nation makes nothing but feeble Efforts to carry on the War, they will speedily endeavour a separate Peace with *France*. They will the more readily come into this, because several of their Provinces have contributed nothing for a long time; that the Province of *Holland* is exhausted, and that all of 'em in general do earnestly wish for a Peace.

On the other hand, they are already Masters of almost all they desir'd by the Preliminaries, and the most Christian King will make no difficulty to grant them what they may further demand for the Security of their State, and the advancement of their Commerce. After this, his Catholick Majesty will easily maintain himself in what he is already possess'd of, the Monarchy of *Spain*. He will then become a
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new Protector to us, and by joyning his Forces with those of *France*, may put our Prince in a Condition to subdue both his Foreign and Domestick Enemies.

These are the Methods, Sir, which we think will be most effectual to restore his Majesty of *Great Britain*. For my own part, I look upon them as infallible. if they be made use of with the Discretion and Prudence, which are necessary on all such Occasions. You must not discover your self too much at first, nor push on things with too much Ardour and Precipitation. But you may from time to time, detach as from an Army, hardy and bold Fellows, to sound the Fords, to view the Enemy, and Skirmish with them. Such People as these being well sustain'd, and supported in due time, do sometimes draw the Enemy into Defiles, from whence they can't get out without being beat.

As to what remains, you must always speak of the Revolution with Applause, and approve the Toleration in a Sense duly limited and rightly understood; and since what concerns Religion, is always the most tender and difficult Point, you must appear intirely devoted to the Protestant Succession. At the same time it may be privately insinuated, that the King will turn Protestant; and if that be the only Obstacle in the way, however zealous his Majesty is for the Catholick Religion, I make no doubt, but with the Consent of his Holiness, he will outwardly, for a time, profess himself a Protestant.

I say, *for a time*, because I don't despair; but that after his Majesty has reign'd peaceably for some Years, he may have the Happiness to bring back the *English* to the Bosom of the Church of *Rome*. For my own part, I could not but return to it, after having compar'd the Books of the most famous Doctors of the Church of *England*, with those of the Catholicks, and discours'd some Points with the

late Bishop of *Meaux*. That learned and judicious Prelate could not enough admire that our English Divines did not see that their own Principles convicted them of being Schismatics, and did necessarily lead them back to the Catholick Church. This he could not forbear saying to M. —, when he thank'd him for Dr. *Bulls* Book against the *Antitrinitarians*, which he presented him with. This great Man told me often, that of all the Sects of Protestants, there was none whose Principles were less consistent than those of the Church of *England*, and that their Divines have no reason to look upon other Protestants with so much Contempt, since they argue more consequentially, and with greater Advantage than themselves. The Reason of this is, says he, because the Church of *England* having preserv'd the Ecclesiastical Hierarchy, and several Ceremonies of the Church. They are oblig'd to have recourse to Tradition, to the Authority of the Fathers, and to Councils, to defend themselves against other Protestants who reject all those things, and will admit nothing but Scripture. But when they find themselves press'd by the Catholics, they have recourse to the Hypothesis of the same Protestants, abandon their first Principle, and intrench themselves within the Authority of the Scripture alone. Thus, Sir, you see them reduc'd to make use of a double Weight and a double Measure. Allow me to give you an Instance.

You may perceive with the least Attention, that when once Men admit, as your Divines do, Tradition, and the Councils of the Six, or if you will, of the Four first Centuries of the Church (for on this occasion Six is the same thing with Four, and Four with two) and that during this Interval Councils were look'd upon as infallible, they must also admit Tradition and the Infallibility of Councils from that time to this, the Reasons are perfectly equal on both

both Sides; for if the first be good, the rest must be so likewise. In effect, if the Assurance which Jesus Christ has given to his Church, *that the Gates of Hell shall never prevail against her*; and if the Promise which he has made to his Ministers that he will be with them to the end of the World, *and that every time they assemble in his Name, he will be in the midst of them*; I say, if this Assurance and this Promise had place for 400 Years, let them show us that they have been annul'd since, and tell us the Motives which could induce Jesus Christ to act in a manner that appears so strange, and so unworthy of the Saviour of Mankind? Will they say 'tis because the Doctrine is corrupted, the Discipline become too loose, and that Superstition is crept into the Church, and by Consequence into the Councils? But besides that, this is directly opposite to the Promises of Jesus Christ, and that it belongs to no particular Person or Assembly to judge the Catholick Church, by what Marks and Characters shall we know this pretended Corruption? How shall we prove it? They will say no doubt, because the late Councils have not decreed according to the Word of God. Very well. The first Councils were not then infallible; but because their Decisions were agreeable to the Scripture, their Infallibility then was not their proper, or what we call, an inherent Quality; 'twas not from the assistance of the Spirit of God, or an effect of the promise of Jesus Christ, but a meer accident and casual thing, they might have as well decided Wrong as Right. Then any Assembly which determin'd matters 200 Years ago, or shall determin them now according to the Scripture, will be as infallible as any of the first Councils. But what's that I pray to be conformable to the Scripture, who shall be judge? For since by this Principle, you destroy all absolute and visible Authority, every particular person must set up for a Judge of Contro-

verfies, and cloth themselves with that Infallibility of which you have fo freely difpoil'd the Councils. An Independant, a Quaker, a Brounift ; in a word, the firft Fanatick that offers himfelf, muft have a full Right to judge of all the Decifions of the Church of *England*, and the meaneft Cobler muft have as great a Prerogative, as your whole Convocation. He will compare your Decifions with the Scripture, and if he find them not agreeable to it, muft have a Right to feparate from your Church. Now as this Principle fets all Chriftians upon the fame Foot, and grants 'em equal privileges, your Cobler, after having form'd a Religion of his own, will make his Family a Church, to which he is to be Father, Priest, Bishop Pope, and Council. After this, who can but admire, at the Proud and Infulting Airs of your Divines : Mayn't they be afham'd to call thofe who differ from them Schifmaticks, Hereticks, and Innovators : As if thofe People had not the Scriptures as well as they, and as if they could not judge your Church after their manner, and feparate from it when they think good, with as much Right and Authority, as you have judg'd and feparated yourfelves from the Catholick Church ? You are hence forward, as much Hereticks, with refpect to them, as you can pretend they are with refpect to you. The Ballance cannot be more juft : You fee, Sir, into what a Chaos of abfurdities, Contradictions and Impieties, your fo much boasted Principles of the Church of *England*, throw you.

This is fo true, that *Chillingworth*, a Man of great Penetration, having examined all that *Gallimathias*, which you infift upon of the Authority of the Fathers Traditions and Councils, made no fcruple to turn Roman Catholick, and published a Book on that Subject, which I wifh you would read. It's true, that he returned afterwards to the Communion of the Church of *England*, but how did he do it ?

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By abjuring all the Counsels, Fathers, and Traditions, and declaring, that for Time to come, he would hold by nothing but the Scripture, that's to say, he embraced the Maxims I just now mentioned, which you condemn so much in the *Calvinists Independants*, and all your other Sectaries: He was very sensible of it himself; and it was certainly out of deference to your Divines, that he refused to publish the Motives of his second Change, notwithstanding all the pressing Instances made to him on that Head. It was the same, as to the Author of a famous Book, intitl'd, *The Rights of the Christian Church, against the Priests of the Church of Rome, and all others, who arrogate an Independent Power*. I understand from Father, — that this Author being at *Oxford*, in a certain College, turn'd Roman Catholick, being press'd to it by the Consequences of your Principles about Tradition and the Authority of the Church: But some time after, he returned to the Church of *England*, and Maintain'd, that the Scripture alone was to be the Rule of Faith and Manners among all Christians. It is true, he had not the same Respect for your Doctors, as *Chillingworth*; for in the Book, whose Title I just now mentioned, he proves, unanswerably, that according to the Principles of your Reformation, not only every particular Person is a Judge in Matters of Faith; so that he may, and ought, to follow the Religion, which he thinks most agreeable to the Scripture, but has also a Natural Power to Exercise all the Functions which belong to Christianity; for Instance, to Preach and Administer the Sacraments. This Principle, as you see, absolutely destroys all Ecclesiastical Hierarchy and Order of Priesthood, which is the same at bottom with that of the *Calvinists*, as may be seen by the Writings of Monsieur *Claud*, and the Bishop of *Meaux*, from whence it would seem, that Author has taken the greatest part of his Proofs: But as at the same time
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he overturns all the Authority and pretended Distinctions of your Clergy, I am not surpriz'd that your Divines cry'd out so much against that Book, and did so bitterly reproach the Author. They succeeded better by that, than by all the Answers they gave him; for I am very well informed, that among Men of Sense, his Arguments are still reckon'd to stand in full Force.

That Work will be an Eternal Monument of your Reproach, and of the Triumph of the Catholick Church. Therefore, we are about translating it here, with a large Commentary, wherein will be discovered to all *Europe*, the Ridiculousness and Absurdity of your Principles. The Terms of Priests of the Church of *Rome*, which the Author has put in his Title Page, have not so much provok'd us, as to make us change our Opinion, for they concern you more than us; but I perceive that my Letter swells beyond my Intention.

You see, Sir, the Advantages we have over you, if we consider Things only in General; what must it be then, if by descending to Particulars, I set before your Eyes, the scandalous Manner by which your Reformation was introduced. There to make use of the Expressions of a Great Princess of our Nation, whom God was pleas'd to convert, you will see that *Henry* the Eighth only left the Church of *Rome*, and oppos'd the Authority of the Pope, because he would not suffer him to Divorce his Wife and marry Another. That *Edward* the Sixth being an Infant, his Uncle, who govern'd in his Name, abusing the Royal Authority, enrich'd himself by appropriating to his Family, the Lands and Possessions of the Church. That Queen *Elizabeth* not being the lawful Heiress of the Crown, could not be able to maintain herself in her unjust Possession, but by renouncing the true Church, the Purity of whose Doctrine, was inconsistent with her Usurpation. You will

will perceive that this Queen set herself up as a Papeſs, and Head of the Church; that the Parliament assumed to themselves the infallibility of Councils, determined points of Religion, and made one after their own Fashion, without listening to the Remonstrances of the Bishops, or the humble Requests of the Clergy assembled in Convocation.

You will see that the Arch-bishop of *York*, and thirteen other Bishops, the only true Prelates then left in *England*, refus'd to Ordain *Parker*, whom the Queen had Named to be Arch-bishop of *Canterbury*; and that notwithstanding this, he was advanc'd to that Dignity. In fine, you will see that the New Clergy was continually subject to the Queen and Parliament, depended always on their Will, and did nothing but by their Order. This was the least Punishment that their Separation from the Church, their Bigotry to a shameful and Sacrilegious Schism, which had disfigur'd the true Religion, and took from the Faithful, all that could Nourish their Devotion and Piety, did merit.

It is true, that the same Schismatical Clergy returning speedily to their Senses, felt the weight of their Oppression, and groaned heavily under it; but as they knew at the same time, that they could never cast off the Yoak, so long as *England* continued in the Schism, they endeavoured to retire from it by degrees, and insensibly to return to the Catholick Church. They restored Altars in their Quires, with Wax Caudles, not lighted, and they ordered the People to Bow to them, as they entred the Church.

They renewed the practice of Consecrating Churches and Chapels, which they adorned with Pictures, and replanted with Organs. Excommunications were renewed with a great deal of Pomp and Severity. They maintain'd, that the Ecclesiastical hierarchy was of Divine Institution, and that it was essential to the true Church, to have an uninterrupted
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Succession of Bishops, since the time of the Apostles. They looked upon Foreign Protestant Ministers, to be Men without Character and Mission, because they had no Episcopal Ordination. They spoke of the Pope as the first Bishop of the Christian Church, and insinuated, that it was not impossible to re-unite the Church of *England*, with the Catholick Church, who is her Mother. They treated the Puritans with a great deal of rigour, and shewed the Catholicks much respect. They testified abundance of aversion and coldness to Foreign Protestants, and obliged the *Walloons*, or *Calvinists*, who fled into *England*, during the Reign of *Edward* the Sixth, and *Queen Elizabeth*, to send their Children to the Church of *England*, that they might be bred up in the Publick Religion.

This was the Happy State of the Church, when King *Charles* I. had the misfortune to embroil himself with his Parliament. The Puritans improved those Divisions, Joined the Malecontents, and published throughout the Nation, That there was a design to bring in Popery. A great Number of Low-Church-Men join'd them, and the Affairs of Religion were put, by the Parliament, among their Grievances. They cut off the Head of Arch-bishop *Laud*, who was the Scourge of the Puritans, and Low-Church-Men : At last, that Fatal Civil War, kindled more and more, and did not end, till the Episcopal Hierarchy was abolished, and an execrable Parricide committed on the best Prince that ever was in the World. By this means, all the Projects we had form'd, and all the hopes we had conceiv'd, did vanish.

The Tyranny of *Cromwel*, was no less fatal to the Catholicks, then to the Church of *England* Men, especially in *Ireland*, where they exercised all sorts of Cruelties against them, on pretence of revenging the Massacre of 41.

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The Usurper being desirous to procure the good will of Foreign Protestants, affected on all occasions to maintain them against Catholick Princes, their lawful Sovereigns, You certainly know, Sir, that he obliged the Duke of *Savoy* to tolerate the *Vaudois*, and hindred the Court of *France* from punishing the *Hugonots* of *Nimes*; who, by an unheard-of Insolence, and abominable Sacrilege, had abused a Priest, carrying the Sacrament about, and trode in the Dirt the Body of our Saviour. *Cromwell* made himself so formidable to Cardinal *Mazarine*, that he prevail'd with him to banish the poor Priest, as if he had been the occasion of that execrable Brutality.

During this time, *Charles II.* did all he could to oblige *France* and *Spain* to assist him against his rebellious Subjects; but the War, which was then betwixt those two Crowns made his Solicitations of no effect. When that Prince understood that Cardinal *Mazarine* was gone to the Frontiers of *Spain*, to negotiate a Treaty of Peace with Dom *Lewis de Haro*, his Catholick Majesty's Plenipotentiary, he thought the occasion must needs be favourable to treat of his Restoration, and went himself to *Fontenoy*. Dom *Lewis* received him in the most obliging manner in the World, but the Cardinal refused to see him, being still afraid of the predomining Party in *England*. In the mean time Dom *Lewis* spoke zealously to him in favour of our Prince, and exhorted him pressingly to engage the most Christian King to join with his Catholick Majesty in restoring him to his Dominions. The Cardinal excus'd himself at first, because of the Power of the Parliamentarians; but finding himself much press'd, he declar'd expressly, that as long as *Charles II.* continued an Heretick, he must not look for any Assistance from *France*; and that it would even be a Shame for

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any other Catholick Prince to think of restoring him. Dom *Lewis*, who expected that Objection, assured him, that the King of *England* was already a Catholick in his Heart, and gave him such Proofs of it, as put him out of all doubt concerning that Matter.

Those two Ministers did afterwards conclude a Treaty with the King, by which they promis'd him, according to the full Powers they had receiv'd, that the Kings of *France* and *Spain* would join their Forces to re-establish him upon the Throne of *Great Britain*, on condition that he would restore the Catholick Religion. The King engag'd himself to employ all his Power for that End; but the Revolution that happen'd soon after, broke all those Measures, and gave another Turn to Affairs. The Parliament pray'd his Majesty to come and take possession of the Crown. This oblig'd him to conceal his Religion, and outwardly to conform to the Church of *England*. As soon as that Prince came to the Throne, he restored the Church of *England* upon its ancient Foot, and willingly consented to every thing which the Clergy of that Church demanded for the Destruction of the Puritans, and other Sectaries, who refused to conform. Nay, he did not spare the Presbyterians, tho' his Majesty owed his Return to them, and had made them many fair Promises, during his Stay at *Breda*.

The Hatred which the Church of *England* Clergy always had to them, was much encreased by the harsh Treatment they had received from them during their Usurpation. He sought all Methods to revenge himself upon them, but could not accomplish their Destruction. This Obstacle hindred the Project concerted in the former Reign from advancing much. On the other hand, the King attempted several times to abolish the Laws that had been made against Catholicks, but without Success. The Cabals and
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Plots continually made against him hindered the Accomplishment of his Design: But perceiving himself nigh his End, and that he had no more Worldly Interests to manage, he openly declared himself a Catholick, and received the Holy Sacrament.

You'll pardon me, Sir, that I have been somewhat long upon this Article, because I fancied you'd be well enough pleas'd to be further inform'd of some Particulars that you have read. I have them from a very good Hand, and they are known but to few.

The late King, who always thought himself obliged to conceal his Religion, profess'd it publickly when he came to the Crown. I know that those who advis'd him to this Step did it with a good Intention: Yet I'm of Opinion, that he had done better to have dissembled a little longer. I think he ought to have stay'd till his Party had been better form'd, till he had been better assured of the Church of *England*, and till the Catholicks had been increas'd in Number and Authority. For after all, there's a great deal of difference betwixt a Prince, who professing another Religion than that of his Subjects, would oblige them to leave their own, and to follow his, and a Prince, who seeming to profess the same Doctrine with his Subjects, changes their Religion, after he is assur'd of a Party who is capable to support him, and to cast the Balance on his Side. The latter speedily draws the whole Kingdom after him; whereas the other is in Opposition to all his Subjects.

This is very dangerous, especially when a Prince has not the same Power with his Predecessors. We must however confess, that the open Profession of the Catholick Religion did not at first seem prejudicial to the Design of King *James II.* All Things succeeded according to Wish the first two Years of his Reign; but having about him some People of a

fiery and turbulent Zeal, and on the other hand he not having distinguish'd his true Friends from secret Traitors, he took precipitant Measures, which alienated the Minds of the People, and rendred him suspected to those whom it was his Interest to have manag'd most.

You are sensible, Sir, that I mean the Church of *England* Clergy. Interest as I have already told you, being the great Spring of their Actions, they ought to have been taken by that handle, and loaded with Favours, tho' the Catholick Priests should have lost by it for some time. Several Bishops and Ministers had been gained that way; they were made good Catholicks, and waited only for a favourable Opportunity to declare themselves.

But instead of following that Method, 'twould seem they affected to give them Occasions of Jealousy. They deliver'd the *Nonconformists* from the Rigour of the Laws, and seem'd to set them upon the same Foot with the Church of *England*. Favours were granted to several Catholicks. The Universities were chagrin'd, some Posts were fill'd with Strangers; and in a Word, all things seem'd to be in a readiness for despoiling the Church of *England* of her Revenues and Subsistence. This immediately alarmed the whole Body. They cried out, that Religion was lost; that the Laws were trampled under Foot, and that the Country was at the brink of Destruction. They besought the Help of a Foreign Prince, and preach'd nothing to the People but Sedition and Rebellion. 'Twas properly speaking, their Application to the Prince of *Orange*, that spoil'd all, for had he not espoused them, I believe, all their Clamours would have signify'd little. The King had then Power in his hands; and considering the Character I gave you at first of the *English*, they would have born the Yoke with patience, and submitted to what he had pleas'd.

You

You will pardon me this sort of Repetition, Sir, for since 'tis not impossible that the same thing may happen again, We cannot too frequently reflect on the false Steps we took, that we may avoid them another time. I return to my Subject.

The Church of *England* Clergy perceiving that the Revolution had ascertain'd the Nonconformists a Toleration, of a larger Extent than the late King design'd to have granted them, they grew afraid that one day or other they might seize their Revenues, and possess themselves of their Benefices, nor did they dissemble their Fear. This join'd to the Exhortations and Writings, of Persons who had never violated the Submission and Fealty, which they ow'd to their lawful Prince, has produc'd a very good Effect. The Clergy have renew'd the Plan of Archbp. *Laud*; and according to all the Advices we received, they make great Advances towards the Catholick Church.

We have likewise been informed with extream Satisfaction, that they have already push'd Things farther than was design'd in the Reign of K. *Charles* the First. There was nothing almost intended at that time, but the External of Religion; they contented themselves, for instance, to separate the Chancel from the Body of the Church, and to place an Altar there: But now that this external Part is established, they endeavour to introduce the Doctrine of the Church. We know very well that in Universities and elsewhere, they speak of the Eucharist as a real Sacrifice, and propitiatory Oblation, Expressions as unknown to Protestants, as they are common to Catholics. 'Tis also certain they can mean nothing else but the Doctrine of the Church, as to the real Presence of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, in the holy Sacrament of the Altar! 'Tis without doubt, that in this Sense your Doctors take it, since we understand there are those among them,
who

who practise the Elevation. Otherwise, 'twould be an impious Piece of Mockery, and a Complication of Absurdities, of which I can't believe them capable. They do likewise Defend, with Success, the Prerogatives of the Priesthood, the Necessity of Absolution, and the Power of the Priest to forgive Sins. They do still a great deal more; for they attack the Reformation in its Foundations and Principles. In short, the most eminent of the Clergy write against the pretended Supremacy of the Kings of *England*, and claim it to themselves, as their proper Right; and that they can't, without Sacrilege, be deprived of an Authority in Matters of Religion, Distinct and Independant from the Temporal Power, yet 'tis upon the Authority of the Secular Power, as I have shew'd you, that the Reformation is founded and solely depends; so that the Maxims of those Gentlemen being once establish'd, it must necessarily follow, that the pretended Reformation is a Sacrilegious Usurpation, a Frightful Schism, and a Manifest Rebellion against the Church of God, and the Successors of the Apostles; but 'tis the Character and Spirit of Heresy, to raise itself upon the Ruins of all that is Holy and Sacred.

You see by this, Sir, how easy a Re-union may be effected between the Two Churches, were his Majesty restored to the Throne of his Ancestors.

He will readily grant the Clergy that Authority and Independency, for which they wish so ardently: 'Tis their part then to use their utmost Efforts to accomplish so good a Work, and to hasten the Return of a Prince, who ought to be so dear and precious to them.

But 'tis time to conclude. You will be pleased to communicate this Memorial to all our best Friends, and you may let them take Copies of it, if you please, except what relates to the Matter of Religion: For as this is a very nice point, I should be

sorry

sorry 'twere known ; and pray you to communicate it to none, but those you are well assured of.

We are very much troubled that we have no News from ———— Pray give my Service to all our Friends, particularly to ———— Adieu, dear Sir. Remember always the Duty you owe to your Prince and your Country.

I am,

Ec.